

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 STATE 187600

64

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NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 AEC-11 CIAE-00 H-03 INR-11

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TO USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 187600

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO

SUBJECT: CSCE: GUIDANCE FOR AUGUST 27 POLADS

DISCUSSION OF CBM'S

REFS: (A) USNATO 4534; (B) NATO 4525; (C) MADRID 4339

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 187600

GENEVA FOR US CSCE DEL

1. WE APPRECIATE USEFUL MISSION WORK IN GETTING ESSENTIAL US VIEWS RECORDED IN JOINT ALLIED DRAFT (REF A). GUIDANCE IN REF C SHOULD CONTINUE TO SERVE AS YOUR BASIC GUIDANCE IN POLADS MEETING ON AUGUST 27 AND WITH EXPERTS ON SEPTEMBER 5.

2. WITH REGARD TO YOUR QUESTION ON TACTICS FOR DEALING WITH ALLIED RESISTANCE TO SPECIFICS OF PROPOSED COMPROMISES, YOU SHOULD STATE THAT A COMMON WRITTEN DOCUMENT IS THE BEST WAY TO FOCUS ALLIED DISCUSSION IN THE COUNCIL MEETING TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR SEPTEMBER 13. WE OF COURSE SHARE ALLIED CONCERN ABOUT LEAKS AND AGREE THAT CONFIDENTIALITY IS ESSENTIAL.

3. WITH REGARD TO TEXT OF IS PAPER (REF A), WE ARE DISMAYED AT EXTENSIVE NUMBER OF BRACKETS INTRODUCED INTO PAPER BY OTHERS ON POINTS THAT DO NOT RELATE TO UNRESOLVED EAST-WEST CSCE ISSUES. IN PARTICULAR, THERE APPEAR TO BE

EXTRANEIOUS ISSUES IN THE FIRST PART OF PARA 5A, UP TO THE WORD "PLUS," AND IN PARAS 5C AND 5D. WE WOULD HOPE THAT THESE DISAGREEMENTS COULD BE BRIDGED IN POLADS WORK BEFORE THE NAC MEETING, SO THAT THE NAC CAN FOCUS ON THE MOST ESSENTIAL POINTS.

4. THE FOLLOWING ADDITIONAL GUIDANCE PERTAINS TO SPECIFIC PORTIONS OF REF A TEXT AND RELATED COMMENTS BY ALLIED REPS IN AUGUST 20 POLADS (REF B):

-- PARA 5A, FOOTNOTE 1: SHOULD IDENTIFY THE US VIEWS IN THE ANNEX AS ILLUSTRATIVE DRAFT TEXT FOR EVENTUAL CSCE FINAL DOCUMENT, RATHER THAN AS "MORE DETAILED INFORMATION."

-- PARA 7, SECOND SUB-PARA: IT IS UNCLEAR WHAT "THE WRITTEN OR UNWRITTEN PRINCIPLE" IS INTENDED TO REFER TO, AND YOU SHOULD ASK FOR CLARIFICATION.

-- PARA 7, THIRD SUB-PARA: SUGGEST MODIFYING PHRASE "ALL EUROPE" TO ACCORD WITH EXCEPTION NOTED PARA 5.
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 187600

-- PARA 7, FOURTH SUB-PARA: WOULD APPRECIATE MISSION VIEWS OR ALLIED INTERPRETATIONS RE MEANING OF THIS LANGUAGE. REFERENCE TO "LEVELS" WOULD SEEM INCONSISTENT WITH WELL ESTABLISHED IDEA OF A THRESHOLD FOR MAJOR MANEUVERS.

-- PARA 8: IF DISTINCTION BETWEEN "WHOLE" AND "PACKAGE"

IS INTENDED TO RAISE QUESTION WHETHER ALLIED CONCESSIONS ON CBM'S SHOULD BE LINKED WITH ISSUES IN OTHER BASKETS IN GENEVA, WE WOULD HAVE NO OBJECTION TO FORWARDING THIS ISSUE TO NAC FOR DISCUSSION IN SEPTEMBER. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE ISSUE SHOULD BE IDENTIFIED SOMEWHAT MORE CLEARLY IF THAT IS THE CASE.

5. ANNEX: WE WOULD PREFER TO HAVE ANNEX APPEAR AS A US DOCUMENT, WHICH CLEARLY IDENTIFIES US VIEWS AND DOES NOT CONTAIN BRACKETS. IF OTHERS TAKE EXCEPTION TO PARTS OF IT, THEIR VIEWS COULD BE GIVEN EITHER IN THE PRECEDING TEXT OF THE POLADS REPORT OR AS FOOTNOTES TO THE US DOCUMENT: WITH REGARD TO SPECIFIC ISSUES IN THE ANNEX, YOU SHOULD EXPLAIN THE US TEXT AS FOLLOWS:

SIZE AND DEFINITION: WE CONSIDER THRESHOLD OF 20,000 TO

BE THE MINIMUM LEVEL THAT MAY BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE WARSAW PACT AND THE MAXIMUM ACCEPTABLE TO THE ALLIES AND THE NEUTRALS. FROM ALLIED MILITARY POINT OF VIEW, THIS FIGURE WOULD COVER ANY MANEUVER BY MORE THAN ONE SOVIET DIVISION, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THAT A HIGHER-LEVEL SOVIET COMMAND STRUCTURE WOULD NECESSARILY BE INVOLVED IN SUCH MANEUVERS. FROM THE SOVIET POINT OF VIEW, THE FIGURE MAY BE ACCEPTABLE BECAUSE IT EXCEEDS THE ONE-DIVISION THRESHOLD, WHICH THE SOVIETS HAVE TRADITIONALLY OPPOSED.

AREA: IN REPLY TO GREEK QUERY, US FORMULATION WAS PARTICULARLY DESIGNED TO MEET CONCERNS OF FLANK STATES BY SUGGESTING 700 KM ZONE IN USSR FROM EUROPEAN COASTLINES (I.E., BALTIC AND BLACK SEAS), AS WELL AS FROM WESTERN LAND BORDERS WITH OTHER PARTICIPANTS. WITH REGARD TO TURKISH RESERVATION, YOU COULD POINT OUT

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 187600

THAT ALL OF TURKISH TERRITORY WOULD INDEED BE COVERED BY A 700 KM ZONE, BUT TURKS WOULD BE GETTING ADVANCE NOTIFICATION OF SOVIET MANEUVERS IN A BROAD BAND OF ADJOINING TERRITORY, WHICH WE HAD ASSUMED MIGHT BE CONSIDERED WORTH THE PRICE. ISSUE OF AREA ON SOUTHERN FRONTIER OF USSR, HOWEVER, IS ONE ON WHICH WE WOULD WELCOME CONCRETE TURKISH PROPOSAL. KISSINGER

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